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East Asia

Southeast Asia
Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN
No 9, September 1991

19980113 166

[DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 3]

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SPRINGFIELD, VA 22161

East Asia

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Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 9, September 1991

JPRS-ATC-92-002

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12 February 1992

[This report is a translation of the table of contents and selected articles from the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi. Notations in the table of contents indicate articles previously published or not translated.]

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To Build a Strong Working Class

923E0004A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 91 pp 2-5

[Article by Do Nguyen Phuong, deputy director of the Nguyen Ai Quoc Institute]

[Text] Analyzing the economic and social position of the working class in large-scale industry in the 19th Century, the Marxist-Leninist classicists have affirmed that the working class is an advanced class. It has a revolutionary spirit, it is highly disciplined, and it has an international nature. This is still true today for the international working class. These revolutionary qualities of the working class are objective qualities possessed by laborers engaged in industrial production.

However, it's not true that the working class in every country has all these qualities. The degree to which these qualities are manifested depends on the specific economic and social conditions in each country.

The Vietnamese working class is an element of the international working class. It shares the common qualities of the international working class. However, because of how it was formed and because of the economic and social conditions here, our working class does not have all the qualities of a modern working class. It still has many shortcomings:

1. On an advanced nature: It must be admitted that the Vietnamese working class is still not the most advanced force. This can be seen from several things:

Theoretical standards are low. The cultural standards of many laborers are low and so their theoretical standards are low, too. Sociological studies conducted in a number of localities have shown that most workers do not fully understand their role and position. Many cadres and party members are vague about classes, communist ideals, and the historical mission of the working class. Many workers lack pride in their class and are not proud of the fact that they are a member of the working class. They are indifferent to the present situation and to the domestic and international political situation.

The working class has not manifested its vanguard and guiding role on the economic front. More than 30 percent of the enterprises and state-operated production installations in the state-operated sector are operating at a loss, and production is stagnating. The workers are not concerned about productivity, product quality, or economic results. Thus, labor productivity is low, the quality of the products is poor, and economic results are poor. The state-operated and collective sectors are losing to the private sector. Tens of billions of dong worth of commodities are stagnating and can't be sold, because quality is poor and production costs are high.

The working class has never really mastered every aspect of social life. On one hand, this is due to the fact that the working class is not familiar with and does not have ownership capabilities. On the other hand, the present

mechanism limits the ownership rights of the workers. The leading cadres and management cadres at many factories, enterprises, and production units do not respect the ownership rights of the workers. In reality, the ownership rights of the workers have been seriously violated. This has limited the labor zeal and creative abilities of the working class and reduced its drive to struggle for the truth. This is one of the things that has caused workers at a number of enterprises and factories to leave their jobs and go on strike in the past period. Sociological studies conducted among workers in Haiphong have shown that only 15.6 percent of the workers fully manifest their capabilities in production, and only 24.3 percent think that the outlook for their enterprise is good.

2. Organization and discipline: Lax labor discipline is widespread in many factories and enterprises. The production processes, labor safety regulations, and technical processes are not respected. Industrial conduct is poor. Many workers take things easy, create disturbances, waste labor time, and do not make full use of the capacity of the equipment and machinery. Because of this, many factories and enterprises produce poor quality products that are unacceptable to the markets. Recently, with the new management mechanism, this phenomenon has declined, but the situation in which workers do things at their own convenience and show a lack of discipline in production is still a problem.

3. The spirit of class solidarity is low. The feeling of comradeship and love of class has faded. In place of this, there is a relationship of "collusion," "links," "shifts," localism, and pragmatism. Money has muddled class emotions among many members of the working class. Some elements of the working class are becoming degenerate.

There are many reasons for this situation:

a. Objective reasons:

The Vietnamese working class arose in a backward agricultural country where modern industry had not yet developed. Workers comprised only a small fraction (9.8 percent) of the population, and they had not been tempered in the labor discipline of large-scale industrial production.

Most of the workers have a peasant or petty bourgeois (more than 60 percent) background or they were students. Because of this, their understanding, behavior, habits, psychological make-up, way of life, organization, and discipline still bear the effects of their peasant or petty bourgeois background.

Most of our workers are still young in terms of both their age and how long they have been working. In the state sector, 64.2 percent of the workers are young. In the small industry and handicrafts sector, the figure is 55 percent, and in the scientific and technical research organizations, the figure is 60 percent. Fifty-one percent of the workers have been working for less than 10 years.

The average age of the workers today is 31. Thus, most of the workers were born and grew up in the new system. They have never had to sell their labor strength to capitalists and have not had to wage a struggle against the owners in order to survive. Because of this, their class consciousness and class concepts are limited.

This is also due in part to the effects of the war. During the war, many enterprises and factories had to be dispersed, and production had an independent nature. The slogan at that time was "all for the front lines, all to achieve victory." Thus, little attention was given to economic accounting or to profits or losses. They had to produce at any cost as long as there were enough commodities and products for the battlefield and for life. Those things are deeply ingrained in many management and leading cadres and in workers. This still has an effect today.

b. Subjective reasons:

The state subsidies mechanism and the long lack of social fairness have reduced labor zeal, fostered the idea of dependence on others and passivity, corrupted some workers, and done great damage to building a rank of workers with respect to ideology, organization, morality, way of life, skills, and labor behavior.

The party and state have not given sufficient attention to building the working class:

Many of the economic and social policies have not been based on protecting the rights of the working class. Many of the positions and policies on workers and commercial production installations have not been turned into a synchronized and unified operating mechanism, and they have not been implemented seriously. The new management mechanism has been put into operation, but the laws needed to accompany this have not been promulgated. This includes laws to protect the health of the workers and laborers, labor insurance and protection laws, an unemployment law, a labor law, and so on.

We do not have effective measures to maintain the material and spiritual lives of the workers. For a long time now, we have given the state economic installations a free hand, with the result that hundreds of thousands of workers do not have jobs. The lives of the workers, particularly workers in the mining, engineering, rubber, capital construction, and communications and transportation sectors, are very difficult. A survey conducted among workers in Haiphong at the end of 1990 showed that only 0.6 percent have an adequate material standard of living; 34.4 percent are experiencing difficulties; and 8.3 percent are in dire straits.

The cultural and spiritual lives of the workers are substandard. The minimum needs for books and magazines, radio and television programs, films, artistic performances, and so on have not been satisfied. In Haiphong, only 24.3 percent of the workers could read a newspaper, listen to the radio, or watch television.

Labor conditions are poor, there is a serious lack of labor safety, the work environment is polluted, and the harmful factors greatly exceed the permitted levels.

Little attention has been given to training the workers. And those who have been trained are not employed in the proper sector (25 percent).

Political and ideological education and the consolidation of the working class position and viewpoint are loose. The party committee echelons have not given proper attention to the worker movements or activities of the trade union. Violations of the ownership rights of the workers and lack of respect for the organizational independence of the trade union are rather widespread. Also, the trade union has not done a good job in carrying out its task of protecting the legitimate and legal interests of the laborers. A point worth noting is that many workers do not have confidence in the trade union organizations or they think that the trade union has failed to fully manifest its role (68.6 percent). About 70 percent of the workers do not aspire to joining the party. The sociological survey showed that in Haiphong and Ho Chi Minh City, only 32.9 and 12 percent of the workers respectively hoped to join the party.

For more than 15 years, the revolution has been changing stages and the entire country has been moving toward socialism, but the party has not implemented a resolution on building the working class and strengthening the workers' movement. There is no specialized organization with the capabilities to study the working class. The fraternal and capitalist countries, on the other hand, all have special organizations for studying the working class.

Building a strong working class is of strategic importance, because the working class is the principal motive force of the revolution.

In order to build up the Vietnamese working class in line with its position and role, I think that we must give attention to the following problems:

1. On the strategic targets of building the working class during the immediate period (to the year 2000):

Along with the expansion of industry, the size of the working class must be increased. The percentage of workers in the population allocation and social labor allocation must be increased. Today, this percentage is very low (4.1 percent). In the working class structure, attention must be given to improving the quality of the workers who use modern technology in the key industrial sectors, such as the energy, machine, electronics, and information sectors. These are the activist elements of the working class.

The working class must be built so that it really becomes the vanguard force of society that takes the lead in the scientific and technical revolution, that takes the lead in applying the technical advances in production, increasing labor productivity, and improving product

quality and production results, that takes the lead in renovation and in the struggle against bureaucratic centralism, negative phenomena, corruption, conservatism, and sluggishness, and that takes the lead in successfully implementing the lines of the party and the three key economic programs.

2. Based on these strategic targets, the immediate thing is to solve the following problems:

a. Implementing the economic and social strategy of the party and state must be tied to elevating the role and position of the working class, with the decisive thing being increasing labor productivity. The state must do everything possible to enable the working class to hit the target. To do this, we must concentrate on providing jobs and improving the living conditions of the working class.

On jobs: Along with urgently reorganizing the laborers in the state-operated sector, the state must soon implement a policy to encourage the expansion of the family economy and private economy in order to increase the number of different types of jobs available. Attention must be given to the "free work" of the laborers, and occupations must be expanded in order to attract the surplus laborers and reduce unemployment. The state should implement a policy of giving priority to making loans to workers and expand training and retraining using domestic funds and aid obtained from international and non-government organizations. Pushing large numbers of young, healthy, and skilled workers out of the production chain is a great waste. If they are not attracted to production and they are left to fend for themselves, negative phenomena will arise in social and economic life.

On living conditions: The wage system must be reformed immediately, and the irrational aspects in the present wage policy, particularly, in the production and business sectors, must be eliminated. There should not be too much emphasis on grade or seniority. Rather, the emphasis should be on work results, labor productivity, and product quality. It must be ensured that the workers have enough to live on based on their basic wage and primary occupation. Workers can engage in secondary production, but they must use their occupational skills. The fact that industrial workers have had to make a living by growing crops and raising livestock, and even by working as merchants, is one of the reasons why their thinking, psychology, and labor behavior have moved away from the nature of the working class. Measures must be implemented to stabilize prices and maintain the real wages of the workers. The situation in which wages are not paid on time must be overcome. Zone allowances must be increased for the workers, particularly national defense workers, working in the high mountains and severe climatic zones (for most of those who work in the mountain and other remote areas, living conditions are very difficult).

An unemployment policy (unemployment law) should soon be promulgated in order to protect the interests of the workers and laborers.

There must be a strategy to protect the laborers and improve labor conditions. A labor protection law and a health protection law must soon be promulgated, and state control with respect to these problems must be strengthened.

Attention must be given to solving the housing problem for workers. This should not be regarded just as a welfare matter. Instead, this must be related to labor results and viewed as a form of socialist distribution that affects production.

b. Implementing the ownership rights of the workers is a very urgent problem. Education must be strengthened, and the workers' understanding of ownership rights must be increased. If the workers are to have ownership capabilities, their cultural, occupational, and scientific and technical standards and their skills must be improved. On the other hand, the ownership rights of the workers must soon be codified by implementing specific procedures and policies. Those leading and management cadres and party members who treat the workers in an authoritarian and oppressive manner and who violate the ownership rights of the workers must be dealt with harshly.

c. There must be specific policies and measures on training workers. Workers and their children must be the priority targets for receiving a general primary level education (through Grade 9) and general middle education, particularly the industrial sectors.

Studies must be conducted, and there must be rational policies to recruit outstanding youths for the vocational schools. Only by doing this will we have a rank of excellent workers in the future. Also, excellent management and leading cadres can be selected and trained from among these workers.

The policies, vocational orientation at the general schools, and cultural and arts activities must help the young generation to find the right direction and clearly understand the great importance of entering the ranks of the workers. There must be policies and plans that give priority to training engineers from among the skilled workers. There must be a suitable wage policy and other social policies for the high-level workers and skilled workers.

Technology and Development

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 91 pp 6-9

[Article by Dang Ngoc Dinh; not translated]

Some Fundamental Problems of the Reform of the State Apparatus*923E0004B Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 91 pp 10-13*

[Article by Le Si Thiep, M.A. in economics, National School of Administration]

[Text] The development of our country's entire economy and society in the new situation requires that we reform the organizational structure and operating mechanism of the state. It might be thought that this is a major task of great complexity, because this touches all of society, including the organizational system that has been in existence for a long time. Because of this, many scientific sectors and many social forces must conduct studies, and there must be unity with respect to the will power and aspirations of the people. This also requires detailed and concrete plans and many years in which to implement the plans.

The goal of reforming the state apparatus is to enable the state to manifest results in social control and overcome the shortcomings that have been exposed during the past years. In this process, the following problems must be solved:

1. Reforming the state must be part of reforming the political system.

When talking about reforming the political system, some people immediately think about pluralism and multiple parties. But such ideas do not have a scientific basis. Pluralism and multiple parties are just one manifestation of reform of the political system. In reforming the political system, it isn't necessary to have pluralism and multiple parties.

The key problem in reforming the political system in our country today is to scientifically fix the relationship between the party and the state so as to strengthen the leadership of the party and, at the same time, manifest the existing and irreplaceable role and effect of the state.

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam was built by the Vietnamese people through years of shedding their blood to seize power from the colonialists and imperialists. That process did not happen spontaneously but was carried on under the correct leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV]. The people chose the party to lead the country. Thus, no one has the right or the qualifications to reexamine the leadership rights of the CPV or the Vietnamese working class. Examining and clearly determining the functions and operational spheres of the party and state must start from the planning of the party in order to ensure that party leadership and state management achieve the best results possible. This certainly isn't something about which people can make demands.

It must be clearly understood that the state is a very important tool through which the party implements its ideals. Thus, the party must lead the state; the party must

hold power. This is normal in the world. Lenin pointed out that the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie will be victorious only when it establishes a dictatorship of the proletariat. This reminds us that we must look at two aspects: First, the party must be regarded as the guarantor of the people's state. Because of this, if they do not defend the party, the people will no longer have a state of their own. Second, if the state is rejected or abandoned, regardless of the form used, that will be tantamount to abandoning an irreplaceable tool in achieving the ultimate ideal of the party, which is to eliminate poverty, exploitation, and injustice.

Based on this spirit, an excellent mechanism must be built in order to convert the ideas and will power of the party into the operating contents of the state, particularly into a constitution and a legal system. On one hand, through the party members in the state management mechanism and, on the other hand, through the close relationship between the party and the people, the ideas, lines, and resolutions of the party must be transmitted to the people. Then, from the people to the state, these must be turned into law. This is a process based on the idea that the state is born of the people to serve the people. This is also in line with the spirit of Lenin: The Party leads the classes and people in organizing their state.

2. A renovated state is a state of the people, by the people, and for the people that fully manifests a spirit in which "all power belongs to the people."

Above all, there must not be any vagueness, self-deception, or deception of others about the concept of the people. The state manifests the power of the class that has seized power. Thus, state power belongs above all to that class. The state performs dictatorial functions with respect to the defeated classes and enemy forces. But the state also has other functions—collective control, organization, construction, and protection of the common interests—besides class interests. Moreover, regardless of which class holds power, it cannot exist by itself in society. This means that although it holds power and serves as master of the state, the class in power must consider the existence of the other classes within the framework of objective order.

Ever since our state was formed, it has used the idea that "power belongs to the people" as one of the fundamental principles to build the state. During the past 50 years, there have been many advances in ensuring that "all power belongs to the people." However, at present, there is still a large gap between the ideal and reality. There are many ways of talking about this. But in general, it can be said that on one hand, the people do not enjoy real power in forming the state, promulgating the laws, and controlling the activities of the state. On the other hand, the state, as the representative of the people's power, does not have real power.

In order to improve this situation, attention must be given to three aspects:

First, the democratic rights of citizens must be expanded even more. These rights must not be restricted just to the right to vote. We must struggle to have a national management system in which not only the state but also the people are the subject.

Second, steps must be taken to ensure that the state really represents the powers of the people. To do this, greater attention must be given to the power organization structure and to the people's representatives in the various power organizations. The organizations and representatives of the people must be in accord with the real situation and the structure of society on each stage of the path to socialism in our country.

Third, steps must be taken to ensure that the organizations that represent the power of the people have real powers. This target can be hit only by renovating the political system and the leadership of the party, perfecting the political structure, increasing capabilities, and renovating the work methods of the organizations that represent the powers of the people. All of these measures are aimed at satisfying two specific requirements: Those organizations must be "given the job," and they must be "capable" of serving as the people's representative. If they are "given the job" but are not "capable" of doing the job, they are not worthy of being "given the job." But if they have the capability to "do the job" but are not "given the job," those capabilities will just go to waste, and this will not encourage the people to put forward capable representatives. If that happens, even the direct democratic rights of citizens in selecting their representatives won't have much meaning.

The principle that "all power belongs to the people" is not just a political principle or dream but a scientific problem. If people are not fully imbued with that principle, it will be difficult for the efforts to build a socialist democracy to achieve significant results.

It is wrong to think that the phrase "all power belongs to the people" refers to direct intervention by all the people in every management activity. But this phrase would also be meaningless if people did not have any powers.

Socialist democracy must be understood to be a social reality, a social ownership system, of which the socialist state is an element. Thus, perfecting the socialist state has a profound effect on the entire structure of socialist democracy.

3. In reforming the state building a jurisdictional state must be regarded as the leading requirement.

State control is control through the law. The jurisdictional state is a state that controls things in accord with the functions assigned it by the law.

Important signs concerning the form of a jurisdictional state are the administrative laws and the system to ensure the effectiveness of those laws. This shows that that state not

only controls the collective through the laws but also places itself under the control of the laws and the judgment of the people. The state must bear legal responsibility when carrying out its functions. This requirement is much higher than the requirements concerning justice and fairness in prosecuting civil servants who have committed a criminal or civil crime or who have violated the laws concerning civic duties. This requires that state organizations be prosecuted using the laws if they have violated the law in carrying out their state functions. This is the key problem in maintaining national discipline and ensuring the effectiveness of the socialist legal system. Even with sufficient laws, society will not be disciplined unless the laws are enforced strictly and those who fail to fulfill their duties are dealt with resolutely (instead of being given favorable treatment and dealt with internally).

In order to hit this target, reform of the state must be carried on on two fronts. On one hand, the administrative code, with its various forms, must be perfected. On the other hand, an effective compulsory system must be established to enforce the laws. It may be necessary to consider the presence of the system of administrative courts in this compulsory system. At the same time, the functions and the inspection and control forces must be unified in order to form an administrative supervisory force.

4. In reforming the state, the principle of unifying state power in a single organization must be implemented. At the same time, state control and management must be scientifically organized from that unified power organization.

Collective life does not permit direct democracy on all problems and so there must be a representative democracy. The highest representative of the powers of the people is the National Assembly. The National Assembly centralizes power. This is natural. Besides direct democratic powers, the other powers of the people must be turned over and can be turned over only to their representative, the National Assembly. Those powers are divided into legislative, administrative, and judicial powers. As the representative of the people, the National Assembly cannot wield all the powers itself. This makes it necessary to have organizations in order to use the powers from within the National Assembly. This is why we have administrative and judicial organizations, with their legal position as the operational organizations of the National Assembly. Because of this, in reforming the state apparatus, in general, there is no need to pose the issue of "indivisible three divisions of power," or "executive, legislative, and judiciary powers."

But there is one major problem that will require careful attention. That is the problem of selecting an administrative, judicial, and supervisory structure in such a way so as to ensure that these activities are under the centralized power of the National Assembly and to ensure that the National Assembly does not lose the powers given to it by the people and of enabling the administrative and judicial processes to be penetrating, effective, and highly responsible. What the specific forms should be is a

question that must be studied. But in principle, administrative and judicial organization should follow the guideline of strengthening individual and unified responsibility nationwide. Recently, the guidance of the Council of Ministers has been weak. The local and individualistic tendencies and the unprincipled tendency in handling matters probably stem from the divisions within and the inability to maintain the unified centralism of the state administrative and judicial system. Or they may stem from the fact that individual responsibilities are not clear. To improve things, the system concerning the state chairman, the government (or cabinet), and the court system must be examined. For example, should the system of courts must be divided based on the local echelon or based on the severity of the sentence and trial jurisdiction?

5. In reforming the state, attention must be given to the structure of the state administrative system based on territory and sector. The self-management rights of citizens must be implemented based on territorial collectivity.

Here, there are two basic themes that must be understood:

First, the state organizes and manages things based on both sector and territory, but sector management must be unified through the territorial authorities. The authorities in the area are, above all, the state's representatives in the area. The role, position, and single-state nature of the various echelon people's committees must be clarified. The state nature of the various echelon people's committees should not be understood differently even though they are elected by the people's councils. This is the only way to guarantee the centralized powers of the state in all parts of the country.

Second, attention must be given to an independent organization for the territorial population collectives. These must guarantee the real ownership rights of the people with respect to the separate problems of the territorial collectives and respect the power of the state organization in the territory so that these organizations can enforce the laws uniformly and strictly throughout Vietnam.

6. In reforming the state, the issue of the state being the public ownership representative with respect to the means of production must be clearly resolved.

In principle, it is commonly understood that the state must not be directly involved in production and business. However, it is still not clear how the state is to control the public means of production.

In order to concretize this viewpoint and principle, we need to arrive at the following organizational solution:

The Ministry of Finance will, on behalf of the state, serve as master with respect to the value of all the public means of production. Depending on the type of production and economic activity, the Ministry of Finance will

serve as the staff in formulating laws and enforcing the orders of the state in order to:

One, hire production and business managers and exploit the public means of production. Steps must be taken to prevent producers and businessmen from enriching themselves using the capital of others without taking responsibility for the materials. This is the only way to prevent people from wasting and stealing state assets for themselves and their friends.

Two, organize the sale or leasing of public means of production using the most effective forms when necessary. Only by having a lease mechanism with clear contracts and an adequate legal basis to ensure individual responsibility will it be possible to ensure that the public assets are exploited effectively. And confidence can be maintained only by having a Ministry of Finance, the "national treasurer," to control these assets.

7. Along with reforming the state apparatus, great strides must be taken in building a regular and modern rank of civil servants.

We can have a regular and modern rank of civil servants only if we:

Determine the types of staff in the state apparatus.

Clearly stipulate the main tasks of each position.

Clearly stipulate the knowledge needed with respect to the various aspects and the other essential conditions for each position.

Based on this, we must develop measures to guarantee interests so that the civil servants can devote their lives to government service.

From drawing up preliminary plans to reassigning the civil servants, many obstacles that will be difficult to overcome will be encountered. For example, we cannot expel all the people who lack sufficient intellectual standards from their positions all at once. But without the preliminary plans mentioned above, we will never be able to modernize the ranks of civil servants.

The items mentioned above must be codified as a civil servant law. Whoever breaks that law must be tried by an administrative court (or judge). Only in this way will it be possible to reduce the bloated size of the administrative apparatus and prevent the formation of cliques and localism in staffing the organizations. This will contribute to eliminating bureaucratic centralism and sluggishness in the state organizations.

On the Leading Role of the Party

923E0004C Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 91 pp 14-16

[Article by Associate Professor Le Van Ly, head of the Party Building Department, Nguyen Ai Quoc Institute]

[Text] The realities of the communist and international workers movements during the past several decades have taught us some lessons on solidifying and strengthening the leadership role of the party. Whenever and wherever the leadership ability and combat strength of the party have been strengthened, the revolution has been successful and achieved many things. Conversely, whenever the leadership role of the party has weakened, the revolution has encountered difficulties, gone into decline, and had to pay a price. This is a law. Any party that violates this law will be punished. The present crisis in the socialist countries does not stem from having made the leadership role of the party absolute, from having placed too much emphasis on the leadership role of the party, or from having only one leading party. Rather, it stems from the fact that the leadership role of the party has declined or been slighted or rejected.

The past 60 years of our country's revolution have affirmed the leadership role of our party. Our people realize that the party is the only leadership force that can advance the country to socialism.

But today, the party has many weaknesses, and it has not been able to satisfy the ever-increasing requirements of the new revolutionary stage.

In order to affirm and manifest its leadership role, above all, the party must renovate its theoretical thinking and put forth a correct program and strategic line and correct measures that have a scientific basis and that are in accord with our country's realities.

On 3 February 1930, our party was born with the credentials of the political leader and political vanguard unit of the working class and laboring people in our country.

Before the formation of a regime, the party both put forth lines and concretized the lines and directly handled all the work. After a regime was formed, the laboring people moved from a position of being hired workers to being masters, with all power belonging to the people. The party is the most progressive force of the working class and laboring people. The party has the confidence of the people and has been entrusted by the people with leadership responsibilities in order to maintain the powers of the people. Whether the powers of the people are manifested is a basic standard for measuring the leadership role, standards, and results of the party. The state is an organization of the people, by the people, and for the people. The people have the right to elect and dismiss people. Only if the people's regime is strong and the state's management effectiveness is manifested can we prove that the party is strong.

Strengthening the leadership role of the party does not mean that the party must handle everything, that the party must be directly involved in everything, or that everything must go through the party.

Now that we have an administration, except for internal party issues, everything else must go through the state and other political organizations in order to affect society.

In reality, during the past several decades, party organizations have raised and solved many problems that actually come under the jurisdiction of other organizations. By undertaking things on behalf of others, the party has come to resemble a state organization or an organization above the state. The state organizations elected by the people have become just formal organizations.

The situation in which the "party has become the state" has resulted in the party becoming an administrative center and turned party cadres into people with state powers. The result is that the party has not been able to carry out its political vanguard and political leadership role well. The state organizations have become passive, and they lack creativity. Something that is widespread is that when key cadres at the four administrative echelons want to do something, they must obtain the ideas of the party and get the party's permission. If the party committee echelons do not have an opinion on something, the authorities don't dare take action even though the decision is up to them.

The roles of both the party and administrative organizations have declined and been reduced. The party organizations have become involved in doing things for others and become lax in leading the state organizations. As a result, many cadres in the party and state apparatus have started to abuse their powers and oppress the people without the party organizations being aware of this. The people have lost their powers, including the power to dismiss the inferior and degraded cadres in the state apparatus. Thus, there are bureaucratic, degraded, and corrupt cadres who have been in their positions for several decades.

In order to end the above situation, we have implemented rather clear stipulations to distinguish the leadership functions of the party from the management functions of the state. These include:

The party must lead society through formulating programs, strategies, and guidelines, setting targets, and putting forth viewpoints on major plans and policies in the domestic and foreign spheres.

The party must inspect the implementation of the lines, positions, and policies. Through this, the party must correct the mistakes and revise and perfect the positions and policies.

The party must provide leadership in formulating and implementing cadre projects, assigning cadres to the party organizations, and readying and recommending key cadres to the state and mass organizations so that the state and mass organizations can make a decision.

The party must lead using persuasion and education and by having the cadres and party members set an example. The party must operate within the framework of the law and in accord with the law.

The above contents are being concretized at each level, in each sector, and at the different bases.

The leadership role of the party is closely related to the intelligence of the party. The party can maintain its leading role only if it is a truly intelligent organization and force.

Every revolutionary stage requires the party to have intelligence. But the intellectual contents during the time of the national democratic revolution are different from those during the period of socialist construction.

During the national democratic revolution, in order to put forth correct lines, in addition to gaining practical experience and following the news, intellectually, the party had to adhere to and skillfully use the laws of class struggle and revolutionary warfare. But during the socialist revolution, dozens of new spheres have appeared. The party must provide not only political, military, and foreign affairs leadership but also leadership in the economic, cultural, scientific and technical, public health, educational, and physical education spheres.

Even in the spheres with which the party is familiar, such as the military, foreign affairs, and mass mobilization spheres, in the new stage, completely different contents have appeared. During the previous revolutionary stage, diplomacy supported the task of defeating the enemy. Today, diplomatic activities are carried on in order to support the task of building and developing the economy and society. In the past, the laws of liberation warfare controlled things. Today, the laws of defending the fatherland control things. All of these things require the party to have new knowledge and experience.

Socialism can only be built successfully based on self-awareness. The leading forces must be intelligent. They must adhere to the laws and make creative use of them, and they must have the ability to enable the laws to have a good effect in every sphere of social life, particularly in the economic sphere.

The party must be the supreme symbol of this self-awareness. It must be the essence of this. At the same time, it must exploit the intellectual potential of the working class and of the people and the intellectual essence of the age. Without intelligence, the party will not be able to perform its role as the political vanguard unit.

However, this does not mean that it must be intellectually identical to the ranks of intellectuals. Because of misunderstanding this point or because of their own goals or intentions, some people have rejected the role of the working class and its vanguard unit, the communist

party. They say that only the ranks of intellectuals have sufficient intelligence to lead the construction of socialism.

Our party has implemented policies and measures to mobilize the intelligence of the entire party, all the people, and the scientists. Many intellectuals have made great contributions. This proves that the party has the ability to overcome the historical limitations, grow, and become a force symbolizing the intelligence, conscience, and honor of the age.

The leadership role and prestige of the party is also determined by how it manifests socialist democracy.

Democracy includes democracy within the party and democracy in all of society. Expanding democracy within the party must go hand in hand with solidifying organizational principles and party activities and renovating work styles. Democratization is both the target and the motive force of today's renovation movement. Building socialist democracy is a process of implementing the ownership rights of the people in economic, political, social, and spiritual life and manifesting the active and creative nature of the people in socialist construction.

Socialist democracy in our country has arisen and made initial movements.

Democratization in our country has special characteristics that are different from those in other countries. At a time when the economy is undeveloped, in which we are at the beginning of the transitional period, and in which the economy has many elements and Confucian and feudal thinking is still prevalent, democratization is very difficult and complex.

Along with the good changes, there are many problems that we must solve. There have been serious violations of democracy. Democracy has been violated not only in social life and in the state organizations but also in the mass organizations and in internal party activities. On the other hand, in the democratization process, there have been various deviations, such as manifestations of extremism, undisciplined democracy, a lack of discipline, and disregard for the laws.

Today, there are a number of extremists who are demanding "total democratization," democratization tied to pluralism, and immediate results. It would be an illusion to hope that a country that has only recently begun to develop democracy can achieve results immediately. Reality has shown that implementing a multi-party system in a country that does not have a democratic tradition and in a country where the political standards of the people and the level of development of civil society are low leads to political instability and the danger of civil war for a monopoly of power.

Democratization must go hand in hand with severely punishing the enemies of the people. If that is not done, it will not be possible to guarantee the ownership rights of the people.

The leading role of the party can be affirmed and clearly manifested only if the party has a unified rank of cadres and party members who have a close relationship with the people and who have sufficient quality and capabilities to successfully implement the party's lines.

The immediate thing is to purify the party and overcome the situation in which there are bureaucratic and degraded cadres and party members who are remote from the masses. In particular, the corrupt cadres and party members must be severely disciplined.

Before we had an administration, the cadres and party members had to rely on the people and persuade people. Thanks to the protection given by the people, they were able to live and carry on their revolutionary activities. After an administration was established, the cadres and party members turned into bureaucrats. The relationship between the cadres and party members and the masses was no longer as close as before. When the people asked that problems be solved or they contributed constructive ideas, many cadres and party members became resentful. They took offense and looked for ways to stay aloof from the masses. Many people slighted propaganda and education work and avoided persuading the masses. They

feared difficulties and were afraid of wasting time. As a result, they did things in an administrative, authoritarian, and oppressive manner.

Today, a large percentage of the cadres and party members have money and property belonging to the people. Some of these have abused their powers to take and convert public property into private property. In particular, because material living conditions are very difficult, negative phenomena are on the increase. This situation must soon be overcome if the party is to maintain its leadership role.

Finally, the leading role of the party is manifested in the leadership capabilities and combat strength of the party base organizations.

How should the party base organizations be organized and how should they operate so that they are really the political leadership core in the labor collectives and so that they can control the activities of the management organizations and heads? What steps should be taken to enable these organizations to educate, train, and control the party members and motivate and organize the masses? What should be done to get them to strive to implement the positions of the party and the policies and laws of the state and to monitor, control, and criticize the work of the party and state and criticize the cadres and party members? These are questions that must be systematized.

Research**An Industrial Collective Has Been Formed Like That**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 91 pp 17-20

[Article by Tran Duc; not translated]

The Motive Force of the National Economy and Collectives

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 91 pp 21-25

[Article by Nhat Tan; not translated]

Building a Household Economy in the Rural Areas Today

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 91 pp 26-29

[Article by Vuong Cuong; not translated]

Exchange of Opinions**Fixing Water Conservancy Fees and Agricultural Taxes**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 91 pp 30-33

[Article by Phan Thanh Pho; not translated]

On the Preconditions of Planning

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 91 pp 34-35

[Article by Vu Thi Ngoc Phung; not translated]

Renovation of the Policy on Labor and Population Distribution

923E0004D Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 91 pp 36-39

[Article by Nguyen Thi Hang, vice minister of labor, war invalids, and social welfare]

[Text] Moving people to build and develop a rational economy and society in each region and throughout the country is a major policy and measure aimed at implementing our country's economic and social stabilization and development strategy to the year 2000.

From agriculture on up, industry has been slow to develop, and the many years of war have caused great destruction. Thus, our country's economy is greatly out of balance. More than 70 percent of the social production laborers are in the agricultural sector, but there is an average of only 0.10 hectares of farmland per person.

We have a large number of laborers who are experienced in crop growing, animal husbandry, and many traditional handicraft sectors, but there is a lack of labor targets. Each year, a billion man-days are wasted in the rural areas, and millions of youths who reach work age don't have jobs.

Our country's population is increasing rapidly, but the farming area is gradually declining. If agriculture is to advance, we must engage in intensive cultivation and multicropping, expand the sectors, expand production on the spot, and, at the same time, redistribute the population, reorganize production, promote land reclamation, build new economic zones, and switch to cultivating industrial crops and special products. This is an important basis for building an open economic system and participating in the international division of labor.

During the past 15 years, that is, since our country was unified, 3.7 million people, including 1.5 million laborers, have been sent to work in new zones. These people have reclaimed 1 million hectares of land and put it into production and left 150,000 hectares for the old villages. Building new economic zones has contributed to producing a large amount of agricultural products (more than 70 percent of the agricultural products of Dac Lac are products of the "new economy"), created jobs for millions of people, stimulated circulation, changed a number of backward production practices in the mountain areas, strengthened solidarity between the ethnic groups, and contributed to solidifying security and national defense. Reality has proven that investments in moving people and building new economic zones are relatively cheap, they have a quick effect, they affect many aspects, and we don't have to rely on other countries.

However, as compared with the economic and social targets, this work has not satisfied the need to redistribute the production forces nationwide. The new economic zones have not created enough jobs. The population density in many lowland areas is still too high at a

time when the arable land potential in the hilly and high mountain areas has not been exploited well. Few of the new economic zones that have been established have been perfected or manifested all-round economic and social effects. Some areas still have many difficulties, because they have not tied building the new economic zones to developing the territorial zones, settling the nomads, and protecting the ecological environment. Many places have allowed land and forests to be lost, and the confidence of the people is being lost. A large number of people in the lowlands who are building new economic zones and a large number of mountain nomads who have been settled are experiencing many difficulties in daily life. They lack grain, health services, and schools for their children. Communications, information, and cultural activities are poor as compared with in their old villages.

These problems, along with the difficulties concerning investment capital and the weaknesses in organization, pose an obstacle to exploiting the 13 million hectares of fallow land and the millions of hectares of water surfaces that could be used to produce a large volume of commodity products and create jobs for more than 6 million unemployed laborers.

The reason for the above problems is that we lack a truly scientific general plan, and we have not resolutely concentrated on investing in the key areas. Investment is not focused. There is a lack of essential targets. As a result, much arable land has been reclaimed, but the economic results have been poor. Many places have reclaimed wasteland and then failed to cultivate it.

Suitable investments have not been made in order to build an infrastructure. Thus, the new economic zones have not attracted economic elements to engage in joint business ventures to produce commodities. Most of the people in these places are very poor, with self-sufficient production being the norm. There are few state farms, state forests, or state fisheries and so there isn't a sufficient quantity of commodities to create a new flow of goods.

Various economic information services and production support techniques such as market and price forecasts for long-term crops and other services either have not been developed or, if they have, they are not orderly.

The leadership and management echelons have not given attention to implementing the social policies aimed at looking after the material and spiritual lives of the laborers and their families in the new zones. In many cases, the laborers feel that they have been abandoned by the state.

To overcome this situation, in moving people and redistributing the labor forces and population, we must renovate everything from the positions and policies to how things are organized and implemented so that things are in line with the renovation trend in general and the new economic mechanism in particular.

1. Focused investments must be made based on the programs and plans of the areas and national economic sectors in order to expand and develop agricultural, forestry, and fishing production (including product processing and distribution) and gradually put 4 million hectares of agricultural land into use.

When determining the project zones, attention must be given to the sparsely-populated mountain zones. At the same time, attention must also be given to developing the coastal zones that have great potential and convenient communications and that can easily contact international markets.

Moving people to develop the economy and society is an integrated task aimed at building a "new society" in the new zones. This entails building production forces and production relationships and improving material and spiritual life. Thus, the programs and plans must be prepared carefully and accurately, and they must be practical and have a scientific basis. The first thing is to conduct surveys and draw up plans.

Production in the new economic and settled farming zones must be based on natural climatic and environmental conditions and on the consumption capabilities of the markets. These factors must be considered when determining the types of animals and crops to raise. Commodity production must be expanded based on promoting specialization in connection with integrated business. Crop growing must be tied to animal husbandry, agriculture must be linked to forestry and fishing, and expanding production must be tied to expanding circulation to other areas in the country and to international markets.

Production must be tied to protecting the forests, enriching the forest assets, protecting the arable land, protecting and restoring the ecological environment, developing the economy and ecology, and fostering humanity in order to raise the standard of living, improve the way of life, and improve living conditions in accord with the new age.

Opening up new economic zones must be coordinated with solidifying the existing zones that are experiencing difficulties. In particular, special emphasis must be given to communications, water conservancy, public health, education, and water for consumption. In reality, solidifying what already exists is an important measure to develop this work.

Moving people must be done in accord with the plans. This cannot be done in a rush. Plans must be formulated to build the infrastructure in order to create the preconditions for the new economy. Only then can people be moved to these zones. We must resolutely overcome doing things based on movements and stop reversing the projects and creating many difficulties for the people and localities.

2. People must be moved based on having a multi-faceted economy in accord with the motto "the state and

people working together" and the motto "the people work, the state helps." The state must concentrate investments on the key projects having an all-zone nature in order to create the conditions and economic and social environment that will attract many economic elements to invest. Through contracts, each plot of land or each small zone must be exploited in order to establish state farms, forests, and fisheries. As this method appears more and more in various places, particularly in the coastal, mountainous, and highlands areas, it must be reviewed and spread to other zones.

Attention must be given to expanding the family economy and using the family and private economies as the basis for expanding the zonal economy. There must be active participation in switching from a natural economy to a socialist-oriented commodity economy. The family economy must gradually be linked to the collective and state-operated economies with a rational division of labor in order to exploit the strengths of each economic element.

The state farms and forests in the zones must promote technical and circulation service activities and processing operations and satisfy the needs of the people, producers, and businessmen.

The state must encourage the people who have moved to the new economic zones to participate in the cooperative production organizations using suitable forms and sizes among the households and laborers. In places having stable cooperatives and effective operations, things must continue to be renovated based on determining rational sizes and broadly applying the household contract forms. The cooperatives must carry on service and circulation activities well and expand the cooperative forms. There must be joint ventures between the new economic and settled farming zones and the economic organizations in the other provinces and cities in order to produce many commodities to satisfy both domestic and export needs.

3. Many sources of capital, including labor capital, must be mobilized. Every plan to move people must clearly determine the allocation of the capital, including the state's investment capital, the foreign aid funds, the capital of the people, the contributed capital of the economic elements, the joint venture capital, and domestic and foreign loans. The state organizations must view this as a priority sphere in formulating aid plans, because moving people to develop the economy and society is an important element in creating jobs for the unemployed and creating grain and agricultural commodity funds for domestic consumption and export.

Each plan must formulate a structure to use the laborers, including youths of work age, military labor forces engaged in economic activities, discharged soldiers, assault youth units and obligated youths, surplus people from the state rolls, unemployed social laborers, laborers transferred from other places, and laborers on the spot.

Provinces that people are leaving to go work in new economic zones are responsible for providing material

help to these people. The value of this aid must correspond to the value of the arable land, gardens, ponds, and so on that these people have left in their old villages. They must be given help in all respects so that they can overcome the initial difficulties encountered in the new zones.

The experiences in sending people to build the new economy during the past several decades have shown that a number of models have exploited and made good use of the initial assets. (Preliminary calculations show that every dong invested by the state in this sphere can mobilize 2-3 dong in investment capital from the people and production organizations. But if the state does not invest, it cannot call for capital from the people and economic sectors.) The "encroachment" model based on the motto "rice encroaches on reeds, reeds encroach on mangrove, and mangrove encroaches on the waves" has expanded in the coastal areas from north to south. After 20 years of development, Bach Long Village in Ha Nam Ninh has become a wealthy village. The houses in the village all have tiled roofs and two stories. The people have high incomes. The village has invested in building a four-story general school for the children there.

The hill and forest economic model is suited to the midlands and mountains. The Kim Chung Cooperative in Son La, which was built by people from Hai Hung, invested in growing tea and then gave contracts to the households. It has also coordinated things with the state farm in processing tea. This has generated a good income, and living conditions are stable and steadily improving. The efficient work method here is to cooperate on a small scale. But commodity production has been used as the main guideline from the very beginning. The central state and the localities have provided help in reclaiming wasteland, building primary communications lines, and building central water conservancy projects. The people have organized things to reclaim wasteland by hand, built circulation and water conservancy projects within the area, carried on production, and contributed to building welfare projects. The new economic zones in the Central Highlands and Nam Bo usually are usually on a larger scale. An investment formula similar to this model is usually used, but the state must provide much more credit in order to create the conditions for producing a much larger quantity of commodities.

During the past several years, in many localities such as Haiphong, Quang Ninh, Thai Binh, Duyen Hai Mien Trung, the Central Highlands, the Mekong Delta, and suburban Ho Chi Minh City, private individuals have begun to invest capital or leased arable land and water sources in order to engage in production and raise aquatic products. After a few years, many households have paid their debts and earned profits of tens of millions of dong, creating jobs for hundreds of laborers on the spot. With this model, the state invests in building central projects, creates a production environment, implements policies to allow private individuals to reclaim wasteland or lease land, sets stable quotas for a

relatively long period of time, waives taxes, and allows these people to hire laborers to satisfy the work needs. The private households have paid off the debts and become self-sufficient in production and business, fulfilled their obligation of making contributions to the state, protected the interests of the workers, obeyed the regulations on protecting the land and environment, and obeyed the laws. This method has mobilized the strength of the people and quickly brought results. But good projects must be organized; otherwise, the production and business activities of these people will have a harmful effect on the work of others, which is what has happened in a number of shrimp rearing zones in Ha Nam Ninh, Cuu Long, and Minh Hai.

4. The policies and laws must be renovated, and the commodity production expansion requirements in the multifaceted economy must be satisfied. We must soon promulgate a system of policies related to expanding the new economic and settled farming zones, such as policies on arable land, investments, grain, commodity circulation, and taxes, social policies, and cadre policies. Of these, the arable land and cultural and social policies are very important.

Arable land is the most important factor for those who are moving. The state's arable land policies must encourage the full use of the fallow land, put people's minds at ease, generate enthusiasm, and tie long-term profits to the area given.

Providing training, cultural activities, and medical treatment, implementing social policies, and giving attention to the happiness of the people are things that are just as important. The people going to build the new economy are people who are going to reclaim wasteland and contribute to enriching their homeland and the country. But they are also suffering many losses. For example, they often contract malaria and many other serious diseases, but there is a shortage of medicines and hospitals. Their children often can't go to school because of the lack of schools. Communications and information are difficult and so on. Thus, the sectors and echelons must give priority to investing capital to build public health, educational, and cultural installations and develop social programs in the new economic zones. The humanitarian aid programs must be linked to the economic and social development plans in a number of key zones in order to quickly improve the cultural and spiritual lives of the people.

5. The methods of guiding and organizing the apparatus must be renovated so that it operates in accord with an inter-sector, inter-province nature. Most of the problems that have arisen must be solved at the national level. The operational apparatus must be an economic activities apparatus having the capability to effectively manage the state's investment capital and take responsibility for settling accounts in accord with the stipulations currently in force.

The responsibilities of the central echelon and localities must be clearly distinguished, and administrative, bureaucratic centralism, and state subsidies type management must be avoided. With respect to a number of key zones, the central echelon must build "corridors" concerning guidelines and tasks, build an infrastructure, and create a favorable environment for the localities, bases, and economic elements.

The sectors and localities must increase control, monitor the basic situation through the plans, promptly exploit the places that have done a good job, correct the places that have made mistakes, regularly make preliminary summaries, and learn the good lessons and grasp the good models so that they can be applied elsewhere.

Ba Son Creates a Strong Position

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 91 pp 40-42

[Article by Hung Nghiem; not translated]

Democratization in the Cultural and Spiritual Spheres

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 91 pp 43-44

[Article by Nguyen Hong Son; not translated]

Renovate the Wage Control and Social Insurance Mechanisms

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 91 pp 45-47

[Article by Pham Duc Thanh; not translated]

The Problem of Disabled Children and Youths in Our Country

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 91 pp 48-50

[Article by Chu Thai Thanh; not translated]

JPRS-ATC-92-002
12 February 1992

Letters to the Editorial Staff

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**Don't Allow a Number of Terms To Be
Misunderstood and Taken Advantage of**

*00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 91 p 51*

[Article by Hoang Dien; not translated]

China After Ten Years of Reform*923E0004E Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 91 pp 52-54*

[Article by Le Tinh]

[Text] On the anniversary of the National Day of the People's Republic of China (1 October 1949-1 October 1991), the Chinese people can be proud of the things that socialism has done for their country during the past 42 years, particularly during the past 10 years of vigorous reform, the country's golden age. Although China has had to pay a heavy price, it can be affirmed that China is the only large socialist country to have carried on economic and social reform, achieving initial results, without too much political turmoil.

Economically and socially, in 1989, the national income of China reached 1,579 billion yuan as compared with 359 billion yuan in 1979, an average annual increase of 9 percent. In 1990, the national income increased 4.8 percent, which was eighth in the world in terms of value. The average per capita consumption level for both the cities and rural areas increased 80 percent as compared with 1980, an increase of 6 percent a year. During the first six months of 1991, savings deposits rose to 825.7 billion yuan. Including the money still in the hands of the people, the purchasing power of all of society has increased to 1 trillion yuan. Although there are still about 100 million people who are living at the poverty level and about 200 million people who are illiterate, more than 90 percent of the people have a comfortable life, with about 10 percent having an above average standard of living. Many urban families have washing machines, refrigerators, color television sets, video sets, pianos, and telephones. There are primary schools in 71 percent of the districts in the country, and most of the cities have Level-I general middle schools. The reform movement has changed the "one poor, two whites" appearance of this country of more than 1.14 billion people. Many people in the world think that that is a miracle. The Chinese say that it was socialism that made this possible and that this shows the superiority and victorious nature of socialism.

As for ownership, China's present economy has many forms of ownership, with state and collective ownership being the main forms. In industry, state, collective, and private ownership account for 56.1, 35.7, and 4.7 percent respectively, and foreign capitalist and other forms of ownership account for 3.4 percent. With respect to the value of retail sales, the state-operated economy accounts for 38.5 percent, the collective economy accounts for 33.2 percent, the individual economic accounts for 18.6 percent, and other forms of ownership account for 9.7 percent. Commerce is controlled primarily by the state. More than 90 percent of the industrial enterprises have implemented commercial contracts. In the rural areas, more than 98 percent of the peasant households have implemented contracts. The varied forms of ownership mentioned above are in accord with

the present level of development of the production forces. For as long as they exist, they will play a role in stimulating the growth of the commodity economy.

On the agricultural front, the area that is cultivated by machine has increased to 42.6 million hectares, which is 44.5 percent of the total farming area. The area that is irrigated by electricity and machine has increased to 26.1 million hectares, which is 58 percent of the country's irrigated area. During the period 1979 to 1989, the value of agricultural products rose an average of 5.9 percent a year. The 1990 grain yield was 435 million tons, and it is predicted that this figure will reach 450 million tons by 1995 and 500 million tons by the year 2000. China advocates stabilizing the household contract system. It is making an effort to expand the agricultural services network, promoting a redivision of the labor in the rural areas, expanding many sectors, and centralizing the land in a rational manner. Public opinion in the world, particularly in the developing countries, is very interested in the vigorous expansion of the Chinese "huong tran" [huwowngs trans] industry. China says that this is the best way to increase non-agricultural incomes for the peasants, develop the rural areas in all respects, and provide jobs for more than 800 million Chinese peasants. This mode of industrialization is also in accord with the special characteristics of a backward agricultural country such as China.

Foreign economy: China adhere to an open-door policy and has actively entered world markets. In addition to the four special zones and 14 open-door cities along the coast, in 1988, China decided to establish Hainan Province and transform this secluded island into a large special economic zone. The coastal economic strategy is a major position within the open-door policy. As of 1990, almost \$90 billion [Footnote 1] [\$1 is equal to 5.2 yuan, the conversion rate as of November 1990] had been brought into China using this form. Of this, \$50 billion was in loans and \$40 billion came from signed plans. Of this, \$18 billion is already in operation.

Within the framework of the open-door policy, China has boldly sent cadres to study and do research in the developed capitalist countries. An official notice states that since 1979, China has sent 80,000 people to study abroad. Of these 25,000 have paid their own expenses, and 70 percent have studied in the United States. Besides this, China has invited specialists from capitalist countries to come teach in China. Since June 1989, in normalizing Chinese-Soviet relations, China has restored and expanded student exchanges with the Soviet Union. It has been granted most favored nation status by the United States even though there have been ups and downs in the relationship between these two countries, particularly in the wake of the Tiananmen incident. China's bold and practical foreign economic policy has enabled China to come out of its isolation and obtain almost everything that it needs from the outside to modernize the country. Premier Li Peng said: "We have brought in much advanced technology from abroad. Now, the time has come to put this to use. At the

same time, we must continue to import goods, including goods with copyrights and trademarks. But we must 'digest' these things and turn them into local goods." [Footnote 2] [See QUISHI [SEEKING TRUTH], January 1990, page 5]

Reorganize the economy and continue to go deeply into reform: Following the Tiananmen incident in June 1989, China reexamined its past 10 years of reform and arrived at a number of conclusions. First, China must continue to make reforms, but it must reorganize the economy, overcome "impatience" (going too fast) and imbalance, and do away with the things that have generated tension in the supply-demand relationship and pushed inflation and prices higher. Second, it must concentrate even more on the key sectors: agriculture, communications, energy, and raw materials. Third, it must resolutely put a stop to localism and individualism in order to increase the percentage of central echelon revenues, maintain the financial strength of the central state, and maintain the macrocosmic regulatory role of the state organizations. Fourth, the large and medium-sized enterprises must be reformed. China now has 10,700 of these types of enterprises, which account for 0.13 percent of all enterprises. But these account for 61 percent of the profits, 35 percent of the value of industrial production, and 64 percent of the fixed assets. Only by revitalizing this key element will it be possible to stimulate the entire economy.

The Seventh Plenum (13th term) of the Chinese Communist Party, which was held in December 1990, put forth an unprecedented development program. This included motions concerning the 1991-1995 five-year plan and the outline of the 1991-2000 ten-year plan, which calls for doubling the national income and raising the standard of living of all the people to an upper middle level. The plenum said that the key to enabling the Chinese people to hit these targets and build socialism in China is to maintain the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

The Chinese leadership committee affirmed that the Chinese Communist Party is facing very great challenges. First are the serious problems that are appearing in carrying on reforms, opening the door, and regulating a commodity economy. Second are the negative effects that the crisis in world socialism is having on China. Third is the imperialist counteroffensive through peaceful change. In his speech on the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, Communist Party General Secretary Jiang Zemin said that the Chinese Communist Party must be transformed into a "steel wall" in order to stand firm and overcome the challenges.

In order to do these things, the Chinese Communist Party has given itself the following pressing tasks:

The working class nature of the party must be maintained. A political party is always a political organization of a particular class. A class nature is the nature of a

political party. Today, the situation of the workers in the world has undergone many changes, but the class nature of the working class will never change. The Chinese Communist Party is still the vanguard unit of the Chinese working class.

The leading role of the party must be maintaining and strengthened. This is an objective requirement, the hope of the people, and the sacred mission of the party. Party leadership deals mainly with politics, ideology, and organization. Those three things are organically related to each other. They are bound to each other and depend on each other. Each is the condition and basis of the others. They form a unified and indivisible system.

Theoretical and ideological work must be regarded as the key element and most pressing requirement today. In China, there is a mass movement to study Marxist-Leninist theory, the ideas of Mao Zedong, and the works of Deng Xiaoping and other leaders. There is a tendency to go deeply into philosophical studies and study the laws of social and human development, with the most striking issue being the eventual destruction of capitalism and the inevitable victory of socialism.

The principle of democratic centralism must be affirmed. This must be regarded as the most important foundation for maintaining solidarity and unity in the party and maintaining the party's combat strength.

Constant attention must be given to strengthening and improving the flesh and blood relationship between the party and the masses, which is the decisive factor for the survival of the party and for political, economic, and social stability. In order to maintain its relationship with the masses, the party must purify its ranks and constantly improve itself. All of the party's leading cadres must frequently visit the bases and the places that have the most difficulties in order to help the bases solve the problems and find solutions for production and daily life.

The cadre problem is viewed as one of the most pressing problems today. China has said that the next 10 years will be the decisive stage of socialist construction in China. New cadres will replace many of the older cadres. Because of this, China must have millions of people who are loyal to socialism in order to take over the revolution. Cadre standards still call for cadres to be revolutionary in nature and young and have intellectual and technical standards. Of these, being revolutionary is the leading standard. Naturally, when examining cadres, they must be evaluated in all respects, with the emphasis placed on both morals and talents. Those given key leadership positions must be people who are loyal and stable. The theoretical, political, ideological, and public opinion spheres must be in the hands of steadfast people.

The Chinese people are enthusiastically struggling to hit the targets set by the Chinese Communist Party. There has never been a revolutionary path strewn only with roses. China has and will continue to encounter difficulties and obstacles. But the Chinese spirit of revival and

the ideas of the age are encouraging the Chinese people. The Chinese Communist Party is setting a correct path for them.

The Vietnamese people are very happy about the achievements scored by the Chinese people in building socialism and improving their standard of living.

**Ways To Understand the Special Characteristics
of the Present World Situation**

*00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 91 pp 55-59*

[Article by Phan Doan Nam; published in FBIS-
EAS-91-197 pp 48-52]

Markets? But Not Spontaneous....
00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 9, Sep 91 pp 60-61

[Interview with Masaru Ishitomi, the general director of the Economics Institute, Economic Planning Department, Office of the Prime Minister of Japan, by a PRAVDA reporter; place and date not given; not translated]

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